/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve • [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

142 291 302

André

534 their original and peculiar tribal insturuments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuaɾɲ . The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.

533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking, the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
[501] The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
[123] inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers, he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús, and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife. The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrí. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 239 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 535 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells,

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrí festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle •534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[291]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

•534 171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug. φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[134] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band; this is the way the Bakairí goes traveling. -- A
[291] young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Flute duet among the Bakairi.

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared
[534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet
[212] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏtŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. φ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

000 Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to
[415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucú capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate
/see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

: Steinen--166 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

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/From Ethnological Pl. II: 2, Bakaïrí flute (meni); 6, Suyá club./

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kχato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/89 cont./

574 [437] always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be [534] sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaĩ, ihãĩĩ [533] huχó, ihaĩ ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ámа, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma ámа? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
● 534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./.

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6, 1 others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
582 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll; also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton; from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13 1 represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

1 [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá, they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

B [534]

/270 cont./

B
*171 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it
531 offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs.
532 This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B
531 /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic ex-
[501] amples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one
B where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On
[534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B
531 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were
415 adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped, corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated
B only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were
[301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y
171 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by
531 the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting them on the head. In addition, rattle-
[534] gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

532 535 As for masks, I obtained in Maigéri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.
[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonischi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaïrí.
(1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and
[322] usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/325 cont./

*171 535 board and the club die out as weapons among the more peacefully minded field-cultivators, but they remain as dance ornaments; the throwing stones are replaced on the arrow by lumps of wax, and small ones hang around the necks of the children as amulets. The Bakaïrí makes two insects living in the palm tree the center of his dances with buriti plaiting. The Kamayurá wears the set of teeth of the dogfish as a festive ornament during the fish dance; he and the Auetö also make ornamental whorls in place of the work spindle-whorls and immediately arrive at new designs because they need paint them with only temporary designs for the purpose of the moment (cf. page 307); the Bakaïrí, in the back-sticks, creates a peculiar dance ornament out of the mandioca digging sticks, and here, too, in the free exercise of art, there arise new motifs, both the form, in that the pointed wooden cylinder was changed, and the design of the drawing (cf. pages 294, 296, 320).

Everywhere here we still find the prosaic, useful activity, either hunting, fishing, or other work, preceding the ornamentation. Let us make clear to ourselves once again that man did not adorn himself by looking around in free nature for something that was attractive and putting it on his body; rather, he discovered beauty only after he had sought and adopted the material for useful purposes. But meanwhile he has gained a great supply of form- and color-motifs; he seeks to apply them everywhere and has raised the ornamentation itself to a kind of art which unfolds most freely in dance and festive play where an excess of energy asserts itself.

171 533 Musical instruments. "In the music of the Indian the feeling for rhythm is most pronounced, but he produces only weak fragments of melodies and /326/ he seems to have no idea of the emotional power of harmony." I am quoting Martius here, if only because I am not sure whether the Indians are not more musical than I am. It was true, everything that we heard was merely an expression of beat and rhythm. I am therefore counting the rattles, which only produce noise, among their musical instruments. They had foot rattles, bunches of hard

*171 534

/326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard
*171 fruit shells, and in particular halved pikí seeds which the dancer
● 584 wore tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90,
[824] page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot rattles* among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

* kamitü among the Kamayurá, not maráka as in Tupí, which among them means song and dance. Auetö teruá and foot rattle aimára, which could be related to maráka.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds among the Bakaïrí, they were very numerous among the Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We
[237] also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of the gourd, and among the Auetö even the blue, polished-looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping. Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transition to the flute.

In the third Bakaïrí village and among the Kamayurá a hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, provided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called méni among the Bakaïrí, while among the rest of the tribes it

B /326 cont./
*171 carried the following names, apparently all related: Mehinakú
534 kolutá, Kustenaú kulútu, Trumaí kut (foot rattle kutchót), Nahuquá kulúta, karúto, Kamayurá kurutá, kuruá, Auetó kalötú. A thick wax stopper is inserted into a tube at one end in such a way that a channel remains open along the wall. This is blown into at the top; the channel leads to a square air hole in the wall of the tube. In the lower quarter of the flute there are four finger-holes for the index and middle fingers of both hands; the partition-wall that closes off the lower end is pierced. Sometimes the tube consists of two halves stuck together with wax along the entire length of the flute; wrapping with bark strips, reed, or cotton. Slanting the mouthpiece is also found. The dance sleeves plaited out of buriti straw furnished carrying cases. Smaller /327/ flutes (up to 80 centimeters long) of bamboo are treated less carefully. Panpipes occur, from the delicate shepherd's flute on up to huge sizes. Thus, in 1884 among the Suyá, we found a specimen with three tubes of one and a half meters, one meter, and three-quarters of a meter long, 13 1/2, 13, and five centimeters in circumference; in the upper part, on the side, there is a rectangular air hole, and farther up a curved piece of bamboo ten centimeters long is pasted on and is open only at the bottom where it catches the stream of air coming out of the rectangular hole.

W Whizzer sticks. Next to the dance masks in the flute house
171 of the Mehinakú hung a whizzer stick 60 centimeters long and
534 in the form of a sword blade colored black with a red center section; cf. Fig. 121 /see p. 382/. The narrow board, /Figs. 121 and 122 appear here/ swung through the air on a rope, produces a buzzing or whizzing noise that makes a somewhat uncanny impression because it seems to swell more strongly by itself and can thereby howl or whistle with a force that one would not expect behind the insignificant and simple thing.

Y Among the Nahuquá we acquired the whizzer sticks illustrated
171 in No. 122 /see p. 382/, one of which is painted with the
531 snake decoration, while the other one was painted black and
534 thereby had a row of fish or bat rhombuses left free. These

000/328 cont./

B *171 ● 534 the implement. The Bakaïrí give it the name yélo, iyelo, which is their word for thunder and lightning combined, something like "thunderstorm." If we wish to speak as they do, we must not call it "lightning," as I did at first, but "thunder," according to its sound. By means of this Bakaïrí word we also gain an explanation as to why the whizzer stick was used precisely for rainmaking by the Australian medicine-men, who can fly to heaven with it and who carve figures of water flowers on it. They produced thunder and electrical storms with the magical stick; the idea of rain was secondary.

B *171 237 301

Fig. 123. Ear feathers. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A [237] [301] ←

Feather ornaments and diadems. I have already listed on page 207 the birds that furnish the most important feather ornaments. The feathers were worked into diadems, especially those of the arara, the parrot, the japú (Cassicus), and the falcon. The tail feathers of the arara were usually put on as the center section of the diadem, where they towered high above the other smaller ones. The lower quill end was turned in and tied to strings; in order to cover the exposed quills, a band made of small red or yellow feathers was placed all around. Feathers tied to a straw wreath were made into a feather wreath encircling the head. Feather hoods were made by tying the feathers (preferably white ones from herons and storks interspersed with small colored feathers), and, to be sure, the

/260 cont./
114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu.
"Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira. Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro. 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen.
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig. 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin. 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/267 cont./

756 [262] [785] In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the [574] distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadíua [531] and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamíra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

993 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties [616] [174] among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

[P.90-A]

	Men	Men	Women	Children	Total
Rio Novo	6	15	19	20	55
Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	28
Second village	4	13	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	13	6	53
Total	30	90	81	66	227

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utsudri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*tsuriq*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tasáre*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jíroa*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*bdiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*awáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *eudupíru*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emísi* or *kunagíru*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemkíru* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáni* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kutsíno* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinyumáli*. The ball (*toin*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*ekipíri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*yotíri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pídito*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tsedundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to get the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pídito* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairí also organized wrestling matches called *toddinpudíli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 796 Among the Bacairí ceremonialism was highly developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairí consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pálo*) and piqui

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emini* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kenagóru* flute was made like the *emini* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emini* and the *kenagóru* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoiti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadónu* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *noirigóru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapuri* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *orike* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pulorudito*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yewoiséri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *makaloudri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiwudito*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*enjéiatakóudi*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is [illegible]. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspetoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simões Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

Y
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Seats

In front of the men's houses a log is usually kept, on which the men sit, and which guests occupy until bird stools, or in the case of the Naravute, bark stools are brought by the headmen of the village.

Y
[345]

In the houses the hammocks take the place of stools or mats, except when biiju is being prepared by the women. In the men's house there are two parallel logs running almost its entire length, lashed to the main posts.

Y
[285]
[531]

In the villages, sitting on the ground is avoided whenever possible. Mats, made of lengths of taquora, held together by two strings passed through holes in the individual pieces, are used. Such a mat is shown in Plate XXIV, 4. Often the upper surface is decorated with incised rectilinear geometric patterns, as shown in the sketch. These mats are especially used when making farina or biiju.

The bark stools seen among the Naravute which were brought to us, as the guests, in place of the bird stools, consist merely of a piece of bark about thirty centimetres long, bent inward and lengthwise. They bear no decorations of any kind.

Y
[231]
[532]

The bird stools are of the type shown in Plate XXIV, 10, 11. They are carved from one piece of wood, the head of the bird and the tail being easily recognized, although the style is extremely simple. The bird represented is the harpy eagle, and is in some way connected with the keeping of the bird in the cage in the village as described.

Y
[574]
[622]

Of the bark and bird stools there are but a few in the village, owned only by the headmen, and are used on those occasions when visitors arrive at the village.

Y
516
[501]

In the canoes the occupants sit on sticks placed crosswise on the bottom. The paddlers hold the legs straight before them, or bent, but never under them.

When not sitting on stools, hammocks or mats, the men squat. The women double the legs under them as seen in Plate XII, 3. When standing they frequently lean on each other's shoulders, and also employ the crane's posture [Plate XII, 4].

Ba
Y
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171

Musical Instruments

Pan's pipes are known to all of the peoples on the Kulusen and Kuluene rivers, including the Bakairi. One type consists of five reeds

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.]

Ba Y 105 171 534

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment.

W 522 534 533

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited.

Ba Y 534 105 171 Y Ba 784 562

W 425 562 152

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top

W 534

[text continues on p. 163]

there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.] W 534

The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that was seen in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced. Y 534 105 171 535

Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is taboo to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kuluseu-Kuluene area. Ba 534 784 171

The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, generally accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While traveling, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one. Y 105 171 533 484

Other Ceremonial Objects

The use of stools, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features. Y 105 171 796

One of the Naravute masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head. Y 532 796

A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees. W 532 796

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.